An Interview With Hallinan
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THE MILITANT

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Witch-Hunt Hearing Aimed At Stifling Freedom of Press

Wall St. Plays Power Game in Mideast Crisis

By George Lavan

MARCH 11 — Desperate diplomatic move and countermove, intrigue, secret understanding and the threat of renewed hostilities that could quickly involve American GI's — these are the first fruits of the Eisenhower Mideast Doctrine.

French and British imperialism, having accepted with chagrin the back seat assigned to them by Wall Street in this part of the world, are now trying through pressure on the U.S. State Department to achieve, at least in part, what their invasion of Egypt last November failed to accomplish.

Similarly the Ben Gurion government in Israel is trying to salvage something of the grand promises made to it by Anglo-French imperialism, which were the bases for Israel's starting the Suez war and thus bearing before world opinion the onus of aggressor.

At the end of last year the world believed that under UN supervision the invading armies would withdraw and Egyptian territory would be returned to Egyptian jurisdiction. Within a few months this picture changed because of the promulgation of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

On the basis of the new U.S. position Israel refused to withdraw from the Gaza strip without guarantees that the Egyptions would not get it. They demanded that it be kept under UN jurisdiction or "internationalized." After weeks of secret conferences they withdrew on March 7 on what they claimed were U.S. assurances. It is an axiom of diplomacy, however, that the "assurances" of a great power to a tiny nation like Israel are not worth the breath used in uttering them if they subsequently do not accord with interests of the great power.

Right now U.S. imperialism is faced with the problem of these "assurances," for the Egyptians insist on the letter of the UN resolution, which provides only for supervising the evacuation of Egyptian territories and as no provision for ruling them. The plans of the UN, under U.S.-British-French domination, for setting up a civil government for Gaza have been challenged by Egypt.

EGYPTIAN DEMAND

On March 10, Arabs demonstrated in Gaza for restoration of Egyptian rule. UN forces broke up the demonstration by firing into the air and hurling tear gas. A five-man committee of Gaza civilians appointed by the UN to assist in the civil administration of the area's 300,000 population, as its first action, passed a resolution against "internationalization" and for restoration of Egyptian administration. Finally on March 11 President Nasser posed the issue point-blank by appointing an Egyptian governor for Gaza and relegating the UN forces to the role of a border guard between Gaza and Israel.

Nasser's policy has been one of taking nothing on faith and giving the imperialists what they want in installments only as they give Egypt its rights. Thus clearing the Suez Canal stopped during the deadlock with Israel over withdrawal from Gaza. It resumed shortly after the withdrawal was announced and now small vessels can pass through.

Another hitch, however, is the U.S. plan, advanced on behalf of France and Britain, for collection of canal tolls. The U.S. plan

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Did Reuther Make a Deal On Speed-Up?

DETROIT, March 12 — Revelations by a vice-president of the Chrysler Corporation indicate secret cooperation by the top leadership of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers in a program that has resulted in the firing of 20,000 workers, increased speed-up for 140,000 others and fabulous profits for the company.

Despite frenzied denials by UAW President Walter Reuther and other top UAW officials, the statements made by Chrysler Vice-President Frank W. Misch on March 7 have stirred up a storm of anger in Detroit and other auto centers and already have resulted in anti-Reuther votes in the elections of delegates to the coming UAW convention.

PROFITS WERE HIGH

Addressing an audience of financial experts in New York, Misch crowed about Chrysler's marvelous profit picture. Earnings for the first two months of 1957 have not only exceeded those of the same period in 1955, the biggest year in auto history, but equal the total for all of 1956. Misch credited this golden shower, as is customary, to the wisdom of Chrysler management and to the introduction of new work standards throughout the Chrysler empire. The new work standards involved firing 20,000 workers and putting their share of the work load on the remaining employes who are staggering from the resulting speed-up and stretch-out.

"The leadership of the UAW-CIO had been informed of our plans, with a full background of what was at stake," Misch declared, letting the cat out of the bag.

Last summer Chrysler President L. L. Colbert and Walter Reuther had a private conference. Then some 45,000 Chrysler workers were laid off. In August, Colbert had a session with Norman Matthews, head of the UAW's Chrysler division, his staff and the presidents of 35 Chrysler locals, but no union commitment on the proposed new work standards was voted. In a letter from Colbert, Chrysler workers were informed of the new work standards and urged to increase their output.

The speed-up has caused great resentment among Chrysler workers. As recently as Feb. 26 a corporation-wide strike was averted only by an eleventh hour settlement arranged by the UAW's top officials.

The labor writer of the Detroit Free Press comments March 8 that "Misch's speech unlocked one of the worst-kept 'secrets' in the auto industry. . . The speech gave the impression, to some people, at least, that the UAW had worked hand-in-hand with Chrysler in instituting new work standards and quieting worker discontent."

Stoolpigeon Evidence, Smear of Foreign Born Featured at N. Y. Session

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, March 13 — The chamber in the federal courthouse at Foley Square where a House Un-American Activities subcommittee is now holding hearings is freshly painted and decorated but a foul witch-hunt odor prevails. The committee opened a four-day session here yesterday ostensibly to investigate "mounting communist propaganda."

JOHN GATES

In an opening statement, subcommittee chairman Moulder (D-Mo.) asserted that the committee's aim is to help strengthen laws designed to combat foreign and domestic "subversive" literature and that it would explore the importing of such propaganda from the Soviet bloc as well as investigate "communist-controlled" U. S. publishing houses whose books, he said, are "sold in the most conservative bookshops." The committee, he piously added, "has no desire to censor books, magazines or papers."

In its opening session, the committee devoted itself to smearing foreign-born workers as a dangerous potential for "subversion" and attempted to establish the idea that opposition to the Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East is equivalent to advocating force and violence. Officials of the U.S. Customs department, in well-oiled "expert" testimony, estimated that some four million pieces of "communist propaganda" are mailed into the country annually. However, in explaining why this material is not confiscated, one agent blurted out, "We have never found any mail actually advocating overthrow of the government."

But, he added in response to committee questioning, the Chinese People's Daily, for example, in a recent issue "condemned the Eisenhower Doctrine as nonsense."

However, the main danger from the material coming into the country, another official said, is that it creates among the foreign-born readers "a nostalgia for home."

A third agent added that the foreign-language literature is particularly dangerous because most of the people who receive it "don't read American papers."

The performance of the customs agents included opening of a number of "typical" foreign mailbags "selected at random." They appeared to contain a substantial number of the Soviet magazine New Times, the addresses on which were read with ill-disguised interest by Moulder and his associate, Rep. Scherer, (R-Ohio). The two gentlemen who have no "desire" to censor books expressed much concern that copies of a Russian novel in one of the bags was not labelled "communist propaganda."

The smear against foreign-born workers was deepened as the committee trotted out John Lautner, a member of the government's stable of paid stoolpigeon "consultants," and one-time member of the Communist Party. Lautner sagely told the committee that it should not be deceived by the declining circulation of the Daily Worker because, he said, the Communist foreign-language press has a "terrific impact" and that the influence of foreign-born workers is "formidable" in basic industry. He also recited the names

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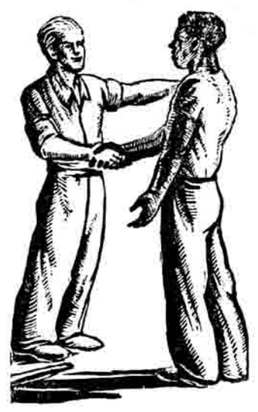
White Steelworker Sets Example in Birmingham

By Henry Gitano

A rock-hurling racist mob attacked Lamar Weaver, a Southern white steelworker because he sat next to a Negro couple, Rev. and Mrs. F. L. Shuttlesworth who were "occupying" the "white" waiting room of a Birmingham, Ala., railroad station in an anti-segregation demonstration



Weaver, outspoken in his defense of racial equality, escaped in his car amidst a shower of heavy stones. Windows of his convertible were shattered and he was struck in the face with a suitcase. The Birmingham cops stood by and watched.

A reporter asked police if they were going to intervene. "No," one cop answered. "We're going to let the crowd take care of him." But the "law" finally went into action. Weaver was arrested and charged with reckless driving for going through a red light while escaping from the mob in a hail of stones.

"NO EXCUSE"

"I left accelerating my speed because a mob of about 50 persons was attempting to kill me or cause me bodily harm," Weaver testified at his trial. He was fined $25 and court costs. Weaver left his Birmingham home for New York "because I don't think my life is worth anything here."

Weaver has been driven out of Birmingham by racist storm troopers. The violence that he was subjected to is an indication of the ferocious pressure that a white worker struggling for equal rights in the South is up against. The real sentiment of these workers who want to join hands with their Negro fellow-workers is suppressed by the iron heel of vigilante terror. It cannot find expression as long as the leaders of the mighty American labor movement which could organize the South and bring human dignity to the Dixie Terror Belt, remain cowed and meek.

WOMEN DEFY RACISTS

Madeline Ryttenberg in a N. Y. Journal American series reports how racists terrorize both Negroes and white. Asa Carter, rabid White Citizens Council leader said, "Let the federal government run the South by day, and we'll run it by night and we'll see who wins." Mrs. Dorothy Tilly of Atlanta, Ga., is prominent in challenging him. Back in 1930 a determined group of white women organized the Association of Southern Women Against Lynching. This group said, "We don't think our honor is protected by murder. We'd feel safer in our beds if we knew the law was strong down here — strong enough to keep Negroes from being lynched. No more of this 'protecting our honor' nonsense."

STILL FIGHTING

Today Mrs. Tilly is still in the fight. The first day the buses in Montgomery ran on an integrated basis, there were dire threats of bombing and shooting —but one of Mrs. Tilly's women also rode on every bus. This proud woman fighter told Ryttenberg, **"If you use my name, you've got to make it clear that I'm not the only one in this. If something has to be done in any community in the South, I can put my hands on a woman there who will do it." White Southern women have their own underground for combatting white-supremacist ruffians.**

Dobbs, Gerson Discuss Action on Civil Liberties

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, March 8 — The need for a broad united front which would include all radical groups in defense of civil liberties was heartily agreed upon by official spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party and by a prominent member of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation at a symposium tonight sponsored by the Brooklyn Compass Club. The subject, "Socialism and Civil Liberties," was discussed by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, Simon W. Gerson, Chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the CP and Tyrell Wilson Sr., a veteran socialist and civil rights fighter who has been a member of the SP for three decades, but who spoke unofficially on this occasion.

The spirit of united action which stirred the audience of about 100 was heightened by a report on the case of Morton Sobell by a member of the Sobell Committee and by James Kutcher, present in the audience, who expressed his solidarity with all victims of the witch hunt and made a financial contribution to Sobell's defense.

UNITED FRONT PROPOSED

Dobbs, the first speaker, talked about the Negro struggle and the fight against the witch hunt. He urged the formation of a united front of all radical groups for common action in these struggles. He said united action by all radicals could go a long way toward mobilizing the labor movement behind the Negro struggle in the South. And in the fight for civil liberties, he said, "We can all act together to restore the good tradition of the old days of the American radical movement when all groups rallied to the defense of any victim of capitalist persecution as in the Sacco and Vanzetti and Tom Mooney cases." "We should restore the reflex," he said, "that an injury to one is an injury to all."

Gerson said the Communist Party was interested in a broad movement for the defense of civil rights and civil liberties, including socialists and non-socialists, liberals and sections of the labor movement. He said that such a broad movement should include "those groups present tonight, but would be ineffective if confined to those groups." He pointed out that the CP had officially recognized "a fundamental error" in supporting the Smith Act prosecution of the 18 SWP leaders in Minneapolis in 1941.

"Our differences with the SWP," he said, "are serious, but they should have been fought out then, and should be fought out in the future by ideological means alone. . . That issue is behind us now and I hope that all elements in the left draw the conclusion that united action against persecution by Big Business is necessary." **He listed as cases for common action now: protection of Negro and white civil rights fighters in the South, defense of present Smith Act victims, congressional witch-hunt victims, and McCarran Act victims, the fight for Kutcher's back pay and the fight to free Morton Sobell.**

Tyrell Wilson said the fight for socialism is inseparable from the fight for civil liberties. "We can all unite to defend the liberties which all of us are losing today," said Wilson. The divisions in the radical movement "have discouraged many of us," he said, and he expressed the thought that tonight's meeting was an "historic occasion."

This meeting was the first in New York in which an official representative of the CP appeared on a platform with spokesman for the SWP. In addition Wilson's presence on the platform in spite of the ban by the SP-SDF of its spokesmen sharing a platform with representatives of the CP and SWP was an important contribution to broadening the discussion among radicals.

Cowley Hits N. Y. College Ban on Gates

MARCH 13 — Joyce Cowley, **New York mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, today addressed a sharp protest to the municipal school administrative council against its action in barring the appearance of John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, from appearing as a guest speaker at any of the city's five municipal colleges during "Academic Freedom Week" ceremonies.**

"The ban against Mr. Gates on the flimsy pretext that persons convicted under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act are persona non grata on the campuses of cur municipal colleges," says Mrs. Cowley, **"makes a mockery of academic freedom and converts 'Academic Freedom Week' into a grisly caricature.**

REPEAL SMITH ACT

"If 'Academic Freedom Week' is to be made anything but a hypocritical perversion of the free speech principles embodied in the Bill of Rights it should have as its central theme the necessity for rescinding such thought-control legislation as the Smith Act and for its most honored speakers those victims who have been crucified for allegedly 'violating' its freedom-destroying provisions."

Mrs. Cowley also called upon Mayor Wagner to use the prestige and authority of his office to correct the abuse of academic freedom involved in the thought-control decision of the municipal school administrative council. **"The mayor of our great city can do no less,"** declared Mrs. Cowley, **"than to raise his voice in protest against such flagrant violation of the academic freedom of students in our public system."**

Mrs. Watkins Defies Detroit Racist Mob

By Sara Lovell

"The people around this area need to learn. They don't know me and they should get to know me. Maybe by springtime, when I can walk around the neighborhood a bit, people will see what I'm like and get to like me. I certainly hope these people around here don't get frightened and move out. They probably haven't even lived around colored people. They must be so unhappy in their fear and I do hope I can help them."

This is what Mrs. Ethel Watkins, 30-year-old seamstress said to the Militant reporter as she made clear her intentions to stay in her new $11,900 home despite mob intimidations, rocks crashing through her windows and harassment that would have driven a person of lesser courage **away.**

As I sat talking to Mrs. Watkins, through the front window I could see the police in their parked squad car and in the rear, two policemen were also on a 24-hour patrol. Her front porch awning had been torn by a flying rock, three windows smashed; all this mute evidence of the violence that had marked her attempts to move into a home of her choosing.

In this atmosphere of tenseness with the threat of the mob re-appearing once the police ceased their watch, the courage and conviction of Mrs. Watkins could only bring forth great admiration. Instead of talking of leaving, she gaily talked of continuing her painting, finishing the new drapes for her windows, and possibly planting a few flowers on the lawn comes spring.

The essential facts on Mrs. Watkins' case are as follows: Her home, located at 12356 Cherrylawn, was placed up for sale in late 1956, listed by the owner with the Gross Realty Co., an outfit that sold to white only. When Gross proved unable to sell the listing in the prescribed 90-day period, the owner then listed the home with a realty company whose business was largely with colored buyers.

Less than one week after she had taken occupancy, the Gross Realty Co. had mailed out over 1,000 copies of a letter to the people in the neighborhood disclaiming any responsibility for the sale of the home to Miss **Watkins stating: "We regret the misunderstanding concerning the sale of the property located at 12356 Cherrylawn. We did NOT sell this property. . ."**

Gross thereby called attention to the fact that a colored woman had moved into the area. At approximately the same time, reports circulated of meetings at the Temple Baptist Church, (a large and somewhat ornate building located in the heart of the area) called by individuals strongly suspected of being connected with White Citizens Councils. On the platform and chairing these meetings were individuals who are known racists and were later identified as being leading lights in the mobs that gathered outside Mrs. Watkins' home.

Mrs. Watkins took occupancy on Feb. 1 and unaware of these behind-the-scenes activities, proceeded to paint her home and settle down to her everyday tasks. Beginning on Feb. 6 and continuing through Feb. 11, her home became the target for rocks thrown by the occupants of passing cars or by individuals standing across the street from her house.

During this period, Mrs. Watkins was constantly phoning the police, asking for aid and protection. The police, many of them homeowners in the Cherrylawn neighborhood themselves, did not offer much help. No attempts were made to apprehend the rock throwers. Mrs. Watkins described

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How Frank Santana Was Railroaded to Jail

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For Mayor of New York

(Second of a series)

Among the facts uncovered by Dr. Frederick Wertham in his interview with Frank Santana were the following:

Santana did **not** call himself "Tarzan." His nickname was **"Taza,"** and he explained that Taza was a "very brave Indian." (About a year earlier he had seen a movie: **Taza, Son of Cochise.)**

He was **not** mentally retarded. Dr. Wertham asked for the official school reports (from which the newspapers presumably obtained the information that Santana had an I.Q. of 65) but did not get them. He tested Santana and found him to be of normal intelligence.

Santana was **not** a "gang chief." The Navahos were originally organized as a stick-ball club consisting of about ten Puerto Rican boys. The club later developed into a "gang" to protect its members against other gangs hostile to Puerto Ricans. The Navaho leader was not Santana but a 15-year-old boy called "Superman."

Santana did own a gun, although it was "Superman" who carried it on the night of the fatal shooting. He said he needed it to defend himself. He was frightened, and this fear was based not on neurotic fantasy, but a very real danger. Puerto Rican boys have frequently been beaten, sometimes tortured and killed, by hostile gangs. The Red Wings, to which William Blankenship belonged, was one of the gangs organized to terrorize Puerto Ricans. One newspaper, reporting violent acts by members of the Red Wings, said: "The Red Wings fought against the incursion of the Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood . . . as the Puerto Rican population increased there were bitter battles with the Red Wings." **A school official stated: "The Red Wings have only one activity and that is beating up Puerto Ricans. . . They have no meeting place. Beating up Puerto Ricans is the only thing they have in common."**

Just two days before his encounter with Blankenship, Santana had been threatened by the Golden Guineas. This may be why "Superman" was carrying the gun. Santana's own story (as reported by Dr. Wertham in **Circle of Guilt**) is that he and "Superman" were walking down the street and William Blankenship came up to them and asked: "Who is the leader?"

The Gun Went Off

"Superman said, 'I am the leader.' Blankenship pushed him. Superman pulled a gun out. Blankenship said, 'Don't point that gun at me!' So Superman put it away under his belt. . . Some more boys came. Blankenship talked to Pedro. He pushed Pedro. . . Blankenship said, 'I'm in the Red Wings. We're a brother club with the Golden Guineas.' I took the gun from Superman. When I pulled it out, all of a sudden it went off."

Dr. Wertham states that he has seen sworn statements by eyewitnesses according to whom it is not excluded that Santana's gun went off **accidentally** when he grabbed it.

Even after the District Attorney revised his story, the newspapers persisted in their own false version of the crime. They still called Santana "Tarzan" and still referred to him as a "hoodlum," "swarthy," and of "low intelligence." Some still repeated that the Blankenship shooting was a "senseless gangland execution" and that Santana was "on the prowl looking for vengeance."

The reason the District Attorney reduced the charge to second-degree murder was that he could not possibly get a conviction on a first-degree charge. The prosecution and defense came to an agreement and Santana pleaded guilty, although he probably did not understand exactly what this plea meant. **So he never had a trial, and his story was never heard by a jury. The judge gave him the maximum sentence—25 years to life. He was sent to a prison 250 miles from New York City. (This makes it very difficult for his impoverished family to visit him). Ironically, they say he is a "model" prisoner.**

Cops Beat, Kill and Go Free

Frank Santana's case is tragic but not unusual. The one remarkable thing about this story is that the truth is becoming known. However, hundreds of other Puerto Ricans have been the victims of false and prejudiced reports, of police brutality and frame-ups, and no one has ever heard of their side. Police beatings are a very common method of obtaining "evidence." Santana mentioned casually that the police did not beat him, just "superman" and another boy in the gang.

GEORGE MARTINEZ

The police in Puerto Rican and Negro areas are notoriously quick on the draw. Many of them fire first and ask questions afterwards, that is, if the suspect is still alive. On September 15, 1955, a 16-year-old boy, George Martinez was shot in the back by Detective Philip Dennehy when he did not obey a command to halt. Several witnesses claimed that one detective struck the wounded boy on the head with his pistol before dragging him off to a fire house. He was being pursued because he was a suspect in a rape case, but the victims of the rape later retracted their identification and said he was not involved in the attack. That didn't help young George much. The bullet proved fatal. The Christian Action Committee of the East Harlem Protestant Parish, in a statement on the case, said:

"This is not the first of such incidents. . . The boy's refusal to heed the alleged command to halt for interrogation, even in his actual innocence of the charge and the subsequent reluctance of all but a few witnesses to say anything about the alleged consequent rough treatment of the wounded youth by the detective are both puzzling and regrettable. They cannot but be construed as representative of a general fear of violence at the hands of the police, indicative of the general deterioration of community-police relations, and the lack of confidence in the police force held by the average member of the community."

Another example of prejudice, misinformation and police frame-up is that of Eneris Santa and Victor Caban, 17-year-old Puerto Ricans charged with rape. The two boys were picked up in Central Park in the summer of 1954 and detectives testified they were assaulting a middle-aged woman at knife point. They waited in jail five months for their case to come to trial. (Serving time **before** the trial is the usual fate of Puerto Ricans who rarely have enough money for bail.)

"New York's Finest" Awarded

There was an eyewitness to the case but no one questioned him. Fortunately for Santa and Caban, right before the trial a detective was checking over the case and decided to look up the witness, who testified that the woman was drunk. She had accosted him and when he repulsed her, she invited the two boys into the park. Under questioning, the woman broke down and admitted this was true. No apologies were made to Santa and Caban when they were released. District Attorney Hogan explained that the whole thing was a natural mistake because of the woman's "apparent respectability" and the "suspicious and indecent" appearance of the boys. In other words, she was a middle-class, anglo-American and they were Puerto Ricans. Curiously enough, a few weeks later, the two detectives in this case received a citation for "meritorious duty" and the whole phony story about their rescuing a woman who was being attacked at knife-point was repeated, with an interesting detail added to the effect that they "disarmed" the attackers.

These are only two instances and there are dozens like them on record. But most cases of this type are not even recorded. Anyone who is arrested and doesn't have enough money for a good lawyer is at a serious disadvantage in our courts. Puerto Ricans face a double handicap of poverty and discrimination. They may also have difficulty in making themselves understood because of a limited knowledge of English. And in that case it's not likely that anyone will try to understand them.

The persecution of Frank Santana and other Puerto Rican youth has its roots in the economic exploitation of the Puerto Ricans in New York where they live in segregated slums and supply the cheap, unskilled labor on which most small manufacturers depend. In modern sweatshops they frequently work at wages below the legal minimum. (Frank Santana's mother, before she became ill and went on relief, worked in a dress factory and made $14 to $16 a week.) Some of them work long hours without any overtime pay. Puerto Ricans are usually employed as unskilled operators, dishwashers and kitchen workers, porters and watchmen, attendants in institutions — all the low-paid, "dirty" work. Eighty-two percent of the male Puerto Ricans and 87% of the women are classified as manual workers. The last census lists a median income of $1700 a year for them. This is about $33.00 a week.

While Puerto Rican workers get the lowest wages in New York, they pay the highest rents relative to income. Investigations have shown that Puerto Ricans pay up to 62% of their income for rent. This doesn't leave much of the $33.00 for food, clothing, medical care and recreation.

Robbed by Tenement Owners

Exorbitant rents are paid for the worst housing in the city. Landlords "remodel" buildings and rent each room as an "apartment." Sometimes two or three families occupy one room and a dozen families — or more — share bathroom and kitchen facilities. Landlords rarely bother to make repairs because, if they do happen to get hauled into court — which is unlikely — it is cheaper to pay nominal fines for violations. For example, the New York Post, Feb. 5, reported that a landlady was fined $50 for violations which included rusty fire escapes, leaky pipes, broken plaster and unsanitary conditions. This woman has a record of numerous violations and owned a Bedford Avenue house in which seven Puerto Ricans died in a fire in 1952. At that time she was charged with manslaughter and acquitted. She is evidently continuing business as usual.

These slum buildings are infested with vermin and rats. Charles Abrams, head of the New York State Commission against Discrimination, has estimated on the basis of reported cases that some 2,500 people in New York City, mostly babies, are bitten by rats each year.

The average rent for such "aparments" is about $15 a week and some are as high as $25 (over $100 a month). In "hot bed" areas some rooms are rented for just eight hours, so that they can accommodate three shifts a day.

When a fourth grade teacher asked her class what they would wish for if the wish could be granted by magic, one Puerto Rican child said: "I would wish for nine beds so that everybody in the family could have a bed."

Insult is added to injury when the Puerto Ricans are blamed for the conditions under which they suffer. They are frequently accused of creating misery and squalor. For example, Frank J. Muench, Director of the Wages and Hours Division of New York and New Jersey, implies it is the Puerto Ricans who are violating the minimum wage law. He points out that in Puerto Rico wages are 15 cents to 40 cents an hour, so here "the uninformed islander eagerly accepts 50 cents or less." He does not "eagerly" accept such an offer until he has been turned down in other shops because he is unskilled, doesn't speak English, etc. Some employers consider this "language barrier" an asset, but they are likely to be the ones that pay below the legal minimum. It is the **employer** who makes the illegal offer, and he is not as "uninformed" as Puerto Ricans who have just arrived here.

Puerto Ricans are also held responsible for the overcrowding and filth of their segregated slum housing. The liberal New York Post refers to: "a small minority of profiteering landlords and irresponsible tenants," which more or less divides the blame. The conservative New York Times frankly blames the tenants: "It is only the occasional shameless neighborhood, notably **East Harlem** . . . that dumps garbage on the sidewalks and roads to give the city an unhappy reputation."

Puerto Ricans "Too Hospitable"

The Executive Secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs also suggests it is the Puerto Rican character which causes bad housing conditions: "While it is true that there is a shortage of low income housing, the conglomeration in apartments is due to the close family ties of the Puerto Ricans, and to their hospitality, where they share their home with anyone who has no home." Sharing with the homeless is evidently an un-American practice, and they should learn to adapt to our way of life.

Inadequate diet and sub-standard housing have had disastrous effects on the health of the Puerto Rican community. While the tuberculosis rate is falling in the population as a whole, it is rising among Puerto Ricans. Rickets (caused by lack of Vitamin D or of sunshine) had almost disappeared in the United States, but it is not unusual in Puerto-Rican children in New York. Many suffer from malnutrition. Lead poisoning, which may affect the brain, is caused by cheap paints with a heavy lead content used in the dwellings.

Puerto Ricans in America are clearly victims of discrimination as a group. The prejudice is directed against them on account of their national origin which American racists proclaim to be inferior. The majority of Puerto Ricans are of Spanish descent while a minority is of Negro descent. The fact that on the island Puerto Ricans as a rule draw no line between white-skinned and dark-skinned people and that they do not object to inter-racial marriage is considered by American race-haters to be another proof of their inferiority. They frequently repeat the superstition that children of Spanish-Negro parents are degenerate because the "mixture brings out the worst qualities of both."

Light-skinned Puerto Ricans soon learn that, if they speak English fluently, they are less handicapped than the darker-skinned: they can move out of the segregated neighborhoods and get white-collar employment, although even a Spanish name creates difficulties when you are apartment-hunting in New York. Dark-skinned Puerto Ricans have no choice and must remain in the ghettos.

(To be concluded next week.)

"Justice" Claims a Victim

Ninteen-year-old Frank Santana (left) in custody of police officer at time of his conviction in 1955 of the murder of a "model" New York boy. A furious anti-Puerto Rican lynch spirit was aroused against young Santana in the press and abetted by the District Attorney's office which revealed only months later that the alleged "model boy" was really the agressor.

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	$ 300.00	$ 225.00	75
Cleveland	420.00	300.00	71
Buffalo	2100.00	1500.00	71
Milwaukee	250.00	161.00	64
Newark	240.00	148.00	62
Allentown	102.00	63.00	62
Twin Cities	1584.00	966.30	61
Chicago	1560.00	850.00	55
Detroit	1000.00	545.00	55
Boston	600.00	295.00	49
New York	5000.00	2258.10	45
Philadelphia	480.00	188.00	40
Akron	140.00	55.00	40
Los Angeles	4000.00	1329.50	33
Seattle	360.00	108.00	30
St. Louis	80.00	20.00	25
Oakland	240.00	54.00	23
San Francisco	800.00	65.00	8
General	—	105.35	—
Totals through Mar. 12th	$19256.00	$9236.25	48%

Regroupment Discussion Spurs SWP Fund Drive

By C. Farr
Party-Building Fund Director

The discussion around the question of socialist regroupment has been given impetus in recent weeks by a number of symposiums throughout the country in which members and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have participated. Symposiums have been held at the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Compass Club, in Los Angeles, and one is scheduled for Philadelphia.

The SWP statement on regroupment which appeared in the Militant, Feb. 11, has been published in pamphlet form and has been mailed to individuals throughout the country, soliciting their views on this important question. The pages of the Militant have been opened to the discussion and will continue to carry, from week to week, various points of view on the problem of regroupment.

In furtherance of its regroupment campaign, the SWP is scheduling a number of tours that will cover the Midwest, West Coast and East Coast. The SWP speakers on these tours will advance the party's position and present the party program on regroupment.

The increased activity of the SWP in this and related fields has stimulated the response to our appeal for our Party Building Fund. We are happy to be able to announce this week the wonderful response from a number of readers of the Militant and friends of the Socialist Workers Party. A pledge of $50 has been received from an old-time friend who has devoted his life to advancing the cause of socialism. A militant trade unionist, he has maintained an undiminishing interest in promoting the campaigns of the party.

DONATION FROM SOUTH

The pledge of $100 from the Deep South has now been paid up in full. Another friend, from Brooklyn, N. Y., who became acquainted with the SWP through the 1956 Presidential campaign, has sent in $5. A young sympathizer from Pennsylvania sent in 35c, "As my first donation to the Party Building Fund. I hope to make larger donations in future weeks."

With the notable exception of Youngstown, Cleveland, Buffalo and Milwaukee, the branches as a whole are lagging behind the amount that should be in at this time. The total through March 12 should be 62%. However, all of the fund directors appear confident that the goal will be reached by April 15.

New York
American Youth for Socialism
holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 116 University Place, at 8 PM. We have a short business meeting followed by an educational discussion.

Hear
The Chairman of the Queens College Marxist Discussion Club report on:
"Why Was John Gates Prevented from Speaking at Queens College"

Everybody Invited
Questions and Discussion

Tues., March 19, 8 P.M.
116 University Pl.

TWIN CITIES
Labor Forum
Milton Siegal
An active trade-unionist
speaks on::
"SOCIALIZED MEDICINE"

Fri., March 22, 8:00 P.M.

Labor Book Store
322 Hennepin Avenue,
Minneapolis

Auspices:
Twin Cities Labor Forum Committee

NEW YORK
Birthday Celebration
for
CAPT. H. N. MULZAC
For 40 years a fighter against Jim Crow in the Maritime Industry

Entertainment by Earl Robinson
Dancing to Liova's orchestra
Birthday Greetings will be extended by
Paul Robinson

Saturday, March 23, 8 P.M.
Esthonia Hall
2061 Lexington Avenue
(at 125th Street)
Admission: $1.50
Auspices: Seamen's Defense Committee Against Coast Guard Screening

Philadelphia
Militant Labor Forum
"The True Story of the Hungarian Revolution"
Speaker:
GEORGE LAVAN
Staff writer, the Militant
Fri., March 22 - 8:30 P.M.
at the
MILITANT LABOR FORUM
1303 West Girard Ave.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum
"Social Significance of Some Recent Movies"
Fri., March 22 — 8 P.M.
EUGENE V. DEBS HALL
3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

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French Gov't Gags Its Critics

The attack on freedom of the press in France, largely ignored by the U.S. labor press up till now, has reached a point where the alarm must be given. The government of "Socialist" Premier Mollet, as it has sunk deeper and deeper into the morass of colonialist war against the Algerian people, has struck with blind fury at the civil liberties of those who oppose the war and declare that the Algerians should have their independence. Not only has Mollet continued all the violations on civil liberties in France his capitalist predecessors introduced, but he has redoubled them and in the past month they seem to be reaching a crescendo.

Algeria is part of France, cry the official propagandists. For over two years now every issue of La Verite, a weekly published in Paris by the French Trotskyists, has been seized and destroyed by French authorities in Algeria. Rcently other weeklies, such as the independent socialist France-Observateur, have been suppressed in Algeria. Now issues of the three leading evening papers of Paris — Le Monde, Paris-Press and France-Soir — have been seized by French authorities in Algiers.

But supression of the press is not confined to Algeria — it goes on right in Paris. French police have suppressed some issues of L'Humanite, the daily of the French Communist Party. Journalists ranging from radical to religious — what they have in common is sympathy for the Algerians and a determination to tell the facts — have been arrested and face trial.

Principal targets of Mollet's campaign against freedom of the press in France have been the papers of the French Trotskyists and especially the weekly La Verite. In 1955 it was twice prevented from appearing by French police who confiscated copies already printed and broke up the type. This was repeated eight times in 1956. So far in 1957 it is being suppressed almost every week as in Algeria.

In addition to this, editors and writers of La Verite are being prosecuted in the courts on allegations that their writings on Algerian independence undermine morale of the French army. Most sinister move by Mollet is the transfer of these prosecutions from the civil courts, where the defendants would enjoy trial by jury, to the military tribunals where they will get short shrift.

The indignation and protests of labor and civil-liberties defenders in France and other countries against the witch hunt and McCarthyism in the U.S. were a great service to the American people. Conversely it is today the duty of all class-conscious workers and defenders of civil liberties in this country to protest the actions of the Mollet government and to support in every possible way the victims of the persecution.

For a United May Day Rally

Time was when workers throughout this country celebrated May Day in united-front rallies and parades. It was the day of the year when the various workers' organizations, despite their political differences, joined in public demonstration of that which they had in common — belief in a socialist future, solidarity of labor and defense of civil liberties.

This almost forgotten tradition was both natural and proper. May Day not only originated in America but in origin was a united celebration. The first of May in 1886 had been designated by the union movement as the day on which all workers should demonstrate and strike for the eight-hour day. All organized labor and all workers' organizations — despite bitter differences on other matters — endorsed and observed the first May Day.

The Haymarket frame-up that followed against the anarchists and socialists of Chicago enshrined the first of May as a holiday of all class-conscious workers. May Day belongs to no one tendency in the labor or socialist movement — it is the common property of all. It is a day of observance and rededication to the basic propositions of working-class struggle for a better world.

The new mood which today prevails in all sectors of the socialist movement has already brought the welcome sight of representatives of the different sectors of the radical movement on the same platform stating their various points of view to audiences composed of members of all the organizations plus many without any affiliation.

Surely such experience now makes it feasible to consider a united-front May Day this year. Such a united-front would not mean the surrender of any of the political positions differentiating one organization from another. It simply means that they work out a program of subjects to which the May Day celebration will be devoted.

Do the different organizations have enough in common for united rallies? We submit they do.

Here, for example, are three vital issues, which do not begin to exhaust the list. 1) Support of the Negro people's fight against Jim Crow and the racist terror in the South. 2) Defense of civil liberties and all victims of the witch hunt. 3) Solidarity with labor in the fight against right-to-scab laws such as was recently passed in Indiana and counter-preparation against the anti-labor campaign shaping up on the basis of the Congressional investigation of corrupt labor leaders.

There is the need, there are the issues — is there the will?

Discussion on Recent Convention of the CP

Dear Comrade Argus,

I have read carefully your letter, published in the March 11 Militant, in which you give a participant's account of the political developments in the Communist Party as well as your estimate of its recent convention.

You present your analysis of the convention as counterposed to the evaluation I made in the Feb. 18 and 25 issues of the Militant. I will comment here only briefly, but I think a full discussion will demonstrate that while we may disagree as to the most significant feature of the convention, we do share a common view as to the roots of the CP crisis and the steps that must be taken by those of its members who, like yourself, seek to build a party of genuine Marxism-Leninism.

As I understand it, your criticism is that my analysis failed to give proper weight to the role of the worker-militants in the party who opposed the liquidationist policy of Gates and who looked to Foster for leadership in a fight against the Gates line. Foster's refusal to make a fight on program and his emergence from the convention in a minority position, you view as a setback for these militants.

You are of course in a better position than I to determine the extent to which those who want a Leninist program supported or opposed one or another group in the leadership. However, it has been clear throughout the discussion that many members opposed Gates on the basis you indicate and we have frequently commented on this.

But at the same time we have emphasized the fact which you underscore in your letter; namely that neither Foster nor Gates can lead the membership back to authentic Leninism, and that the most vital need of the present situation is a continuation of the discussion until the thus-far obscured issue of a class struggle policy vs. reformism is squarely faced. In my opinion, the convention resolved the issue of free discussion in a manner favorable to those who oppose the reformist program shared by Gates and Foster.

Those favoring an unfettered continuation of the discussion were confronted by the Kremlin intervention via the Duclos letter. This letter came as part of the international drive by Khrushchev and company to stifle the storm of discussion touched off in the Communist parties by the 20th Congress. **Foster made clear by his welcome of the Duclos letter that he supports this campaign to shut off the discussion and I think that is why many of the convention delegates voted against him while at the same time refusing to give a solid majority to Gates.**

Incidentally, I think your statement that I "gloated" at the defeat of A. R., 21st candidate for the national committee results from a misunderstanding. I had no reason to express any view about his defeat. I simply cited the fact as one demonstration that many delegates were not committed to either wing of the leadership. Foster polled a much higher vote than Gates in the election but could not carry his motion to add A. R. to the committee.

In my analysis I attached much importance to the fact that many of the delegates, while not committed to Gates, were opposed to Foster's proposed return to bureaucratic centralism. If you saw in the analysis any expression of political support to Gates, then I failed to make myself clear.

My estimate of what happened at the convention might be boiled down to the observation that the uncommitted delegates "were more anti-Foster than pro-Gates." Your appraisal is that they were more anti-Gates than pro-Foster. **I think, though, we can arrive at agreement on the basis of your view that "education of the militants as to the role of the Soviet bureaucracy, its origins and historical foundations, has still to be completed. Their ideological rearmament is the key to the whole solution."**

Fraternally,
Harry Ring

An Interview with V. Hallinan

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 26 — Vincent Hallinan is, as he puts it, "a capitalist turned Socialist. And," he commented wryly, "being a capitalist-socialist is very difficult in the United States." **He justly feels that most of his difficulties arise from the fact that there is no antagonism so great as that against an enemy to one's class.**

I had called on Vincent Hallinan, the candidate of the Progressive Party for President of the United States in 1952, to discuss the three-year suspension from the State Bar which had just been imposed on him by the California State Supreme Court.

Hallinan was quite calm about the matter. He pointed out that the Supreme Court had relied to a large extent upon the testimony of one Bruce Werlhof who had testified before the Bar Committee that he, Werlhof, had been a member of the Communist Party for a number of years as an undercover informer for the FBI. He obtained employment in Hallinan's office through one of the latter's associates and claimed that within a few days thereafter he engaged Hallinan in a conversation "about Communism" which he forthwith reported to the FBI. Apparently, this agency found nothing in Hallinan's opinion on communism which it considered of value and Werlhof thereupon returned and claimed he engaged his employer in a "discussion about income taxes." He alleged that Hallinan had acknowledged the evasion of income taxes. After a short employment, Werlhof had been discharged from Hallinan's office.

USE OF STOOL PIGEONS

Hallinan denied any conversation with Werlhof about either income taxes or communism. Concerning the government's use of professional stool pigeons, Hallinan commented, "Some years ago when I was employed to defend Harry Bridges, I derided his belief that the government would use such witnesses or that a court or jury would believe their stories. Obviously, I have had plenty of reason for changing my mind on that subject."

The Court ruled that over a period of four years Hallinan had failed to account for approximately $60,000 of his income. The government had charged concealment of $400,000, but the State Bar had rejected 90% of the government's contentions upon the ground that the deductions which were charged to be illegal were, in fact, proper. The $60,000 was disallowed for various reasons, all of which appear completely unjust. For instance, $25,000 which Hallinan had expended in the trial of U.S. vs. Harry Bridges, including funds which he donated to advertise the facts of that case, was thrown out because, some three years later, the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee was put on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

Hallinan was as undismayed by the suspension as he was by the terms which he has served in the federal penitentiary, either on the income tax charge or for contempt of court in the defense of Bridges. As he put it, "When one starts out to alter the existing distribution of wealth and power, one must expect to get hurt in the process. At the time my wife and I began to move actively in left wing programs, it had already become dangerous to do so and we did not have the slightest doubt that we would pick up a few scars along the way. I must say that our judgment in this connection has been completely vindicated. However, we intend to plow right along the same furrow. We may be somewhat delayed now and then, but we won't be stopped."

Hallinan stated he intends to use the three years toward effecting a union of left wing and socialist forces in the United States. In 1956 he supported the Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs. He believes

VINCENT HALLINAN

that his support of the SWP candidate helped break down the wall between left-wing parties, and he credits Clifford McAvoy's similar action in New York with the same effect.

"I noticed the regroupment program advocated by the Militant and believe that it is in the right direction. I do not think that at the present stage any existing organization should give up its identity or activities. Thus, I think the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, etc., should retain their own form of activity but meanwhile counsult together to find ways by which they can assist each other in common purpose, whether through political means or through forums, symposiums, defense committees and so on.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS

"A necessary element in such cooperation is the establishment of courteous and friendly relations of these organizations with each other and the relinquishment of sniping and name-calling. I have always felt that those who wasted their energies in such matters were either insincere or lacked a realistic view of the real difficulties with which they are confronted.

"Of course, in all such matters," Hallinan continued, "there are areas in which there can be no compromise. It seems to me that the great division which exists in the world is between the public and the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and we should all stand firmly for their public ownership and control. **That is to say, we must be socialists, and not some mixed breed of capitalists and socialists. There should be no compromise on the question of civil liberties and the freeing of the colored people from oppression and discrimination. We must be anti-war and anti-imperialist and we must refuse to lend even tacit aid to the war against socialist countries—whether hot or cold.**

Turning to the economic problems in this country, Hallinan said, "A study of this situation must lead one to the conclusion that we are on the brink of an economic and political crisis. Contrary to official propaganda, the standard of living in this country is gradually declining and the distortion due to capitalist overproduction is hanging over us like the Sword of Damocles. A public and private debt of over a trillion dollars is straining the economy at every seam. When the world markets dried up, a 'backward country' of credit expansion was created to absorb the surplus products. This has about exhausted its possibilities.

"The position which we of the left wing face is a critical and urgent one," Hallinan said. "When the crisis crystallizes, the American people will be faced with a choice of two remedies for the situation in which they will find themselves—one, socialist, the other, fascist. For many years they have been educated to believe there is something bad about socialism. If they continue to believe this, when the existing system collapses, they will choose the evil road of fascism. It is, therefore, our duty to persuade them to the opposite conclusion.

"We must bring to the American people the facts of the achievements of the socialist countries and the achievements which our highly developed and mechanized country could attain with a socialist policy. **We must point out to them the economic basis for war, and national and racial hatreds and prejudices. We must show them the advances in health, education, culture and the general happiness of the inhabitants of this country which could be obtained from the wealth and energy now wasted in the folly of competition and the criminality of war."**

. . . Witch-Hunt Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

of 21 people who he claimed were members of the Communist Party. Most of those named are under subpoena by the committee.

Afetre hearing Lautner, the committee attempted a grand-scale application of the "big-lie" technique by professing concern that there are about 20,000 "hard-core communist conspirators engaged full time in espionage, sabotage and subversion" and a mere 6,000 FBI agents to combat them along with their other duties.

POLITICAL VIEWS

Today the committee devoted its energies with little success to prying into the political beliefs of a number of witnesses and trying to frame them as members of a "conspiracy."

From the outset of questioning, Daily Worker editor John Gates refused to answer these questions on the grounds that they violated his constitutional rights as guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments. "Everyone knows where I am employed," he told the committee, "but I won't tell you, as is my constitutional right."

Declinen to answer the continuing questions as to his political beliefs and the names of his associates, Gates declared: **"From my experience with this committee I've found it will use any means to frame and jail people. I have never concealed my views. In fact I am being deprived of my right to express them at this very moment by the heads of the city colleges of this city."**

At this point Rep. Scherer read into the record a news account of FBI director Hoover's pronouncement in which he said that on the basis of information in his hands, and unavailable to the press, the recent Communist Party convention was "fraudulent." Gates replied, "What you have read only proves that Hoover is the head of a political police force."

Gates was followed on the stand by Joseph Starobin, former foreign editor of the Daily Worker who quit the Communist Party in 1954. Starobin discussed his political views with the committee but refused to name individuals associated with him in the party. He declared such questions an invasion of his rights and without relevance to the professed aims of the committee. Answering such questions he said, would "lacerate my conscience." He explained that he left the CP because he felt it did not fully appreciate the developing prospects for a "durable era of peaceful-coexistence."

The committee had rough going with Angus Cameron, president of the publishing firm of Cameron Associates and head of the Liberty Book Club. He informed the visibly enraged committee that "it is beneath my dignity as a man to answer questions from the likes of you." He said that it was also his obligation as a publisher to defend the First Amendment "against your efforts to thwart freedom of expression." Cameron also invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

"I don't like what you stand for," he told the committee. "I don't have any intention to discuss political issues with you. You're flouting the Bill of Rights." Asked to provide the committee with names of members of "the Communist conspiracy," Cameron shot back, "That's a contemptible question." Again invoking his constitutional rights, he declared, "I don't intend to be entrapped by this committee and that's your sole purpose in questioning people."

The committee also tried to grill Rose Baron, owner of the Workers Bookshop, and Margaret Cowl, a publications importer. Both declined to answer questions on the basis of the Fifth Amendment. One of the questions directed to Miss Baron was why the book, New Data on Lenin's Imperialism, which one of their investigators had purchased at her shop, was not labelled "communist propaganda."

Efforts of committee counsel Ahrens to emulate a Hollywood-style "communist investigator" did not come off well. With Miss Cowl it produced this kind of a dialogue:

Q. From where do you import Communist propaganda?

A. What do you mean by Communist propaganda?

Q. Don't quibble with me, madam!

A. Among other things, I import a large number of dictionaries and cook books from Hungary.

. . . Mideast Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

is that Egypt not collect the fees but that this be done by an international organization such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Egypt refuses to compromise on its sovereignty over the Suez Canal which is 100% in Egyptian territory. It claims the same sovereignty over the canal that the U.S. does over the Panama Canal, Greece over the Corinth Canal or Germany over Kiel.

It has countered with a plan for collection of tolls by Egypt and payment of half of them to an international bank for compensation of former stockholders of the nationalized canal company. (Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal Company, an Egyptian corporation, with compensation for the stockholders set at the rate of value of the shares on the Paris stock exchange the day before nationalization.)

Other points of conflict in the Middle East situation are the freezing of all Egyptian assets in the U.S. — amounting to $40 million — and the question of Israel's right to send ships through Suez. The U.S. freeze intensifies the economic squeeze put on Egypt by Britain and France and by loss of canal revenues.

Egypt has denied Israeli ships the right to pass through Egyptian territorial waters in Suez or the Gulf of Aqaba since the Israel-Egypt war eight years ago. This is a belligerent right according to international law such as the British used during World Wars I and II when they denied German ships the right to pass through the Suez Canal. The Israel-Egypt war has technically not ended — no peace treaty having been signed. Only an armistice exists. On this basis Israeli ships have been barred from the Suez Canal since 1949. Significantly enough, France, Britain and the U.S., who now strongly champion Israel on this issue, never got aroused about this discrimination against Israeli shipping during the years of Britain's control of the canal, but only since Egypt nationalized it.

Cairo has indicated a willingness to submit this issue to the World Court in the Hague, but the Ben Gurion government is calling for the U.S. to force an immediate settlement in its favor.

U. S. policy in the Mideast openly aims to isolate Egypt and Syria since there the Arab anti-imperialist movement is most advanced. In line with this the Big Business press of the U. S. has been without shame in its anti-Egyptian propaganda during the Gaza crisis. All the more noteworthy is the following bit of understated but objective reporting from the UN correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor (March 2): **"What has happened, UN diplomats say, is that the United States has decided to try to impose a settlement on Egypt. It was not politically feasible for the Eisenhower administration to impose one on Israel, it is said, and it did not prove possible to arrange an agreed settlement. So imposition of a solution on Egypt seemed to be the only available course."**

Our Solid Gold Ambassador to England

By Vincent Copeland

The famous ex-playboy, ex-polo player, ex-theatrical angel, grandson of the famous John Hay, and golfing partner of President Eisenhower, John Hay Whitney, has just been appointed Ambassador to Great Britain.

Life Magazine nodded its approval of the choice of one of the wealthiest citizens, since the salary is only $27,500 and the expenses are about $75,000. Whitney's vast private income will take care of the difference. Life did not mention, however, that the government was even at that time negotiating with the Cuban American Nickel Company for an immense purchase, running into more than a hundred million dollars for an eight year period. (Cuban American Nickel is a subsidiary of Freeport Sulphur, of which Whitney is the Chairman of the Board.)

The British press was even more syrupy than the American, but for a different reason. A Scottish paper said "it was hard to think of a more ideal envoy from a Republican administration." It referred to Whitney's "easy breeding" as a member of the well-mannered old-guard aristocracy. But it really meant something else.

Capitalist Britain has good reason to welcome this ex-play boy and new super-democrat of the Western world. Part of the reason is British antagonism to the incumbent, Winthrop Aldrich, who has been ambassador since 1953, was a hard bargainer and a harsh task-master. It was Aldrich who first broached the devaluation of the pound to the British. It was Aldrich who politely suggested that this would facilitate American aid — utilizing possible denial of aid as a club to force British capital to retrench, putting it in a still more vulnerable position as regards Wall Street. It was Aldrich, after the fall of Mossedegh, who presided at the American cut-in on the lush oil fields of Iran, formerly owned exclusively by Britain. It was Aldrich who transmitted and implemented the U.S. policy of ousting Britain from its last positions in Egypt for the benefit of American Business, especially the oil business.

Aldrich is the direct spokesman of the foremost "oil" bank in the world, the Chase-Manhattan. He thus represents the Standard Oil empire. (He is the brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller). In addition he represents the interests of other major oil companies with holdings abroad. With the ruthless expansion of these companies into the Carribean and the Middle East, there has been one collision after another with the oil interests of Great Britain. Aldrich did not soften these collisions.

WHITNEY ALSO IN OIL

John Hay Whitney is also a member of the Standard Oil family dynasty. His paternal grandparents built their fortunes as partners of John D. Rockefeller. But Whitney is not looked upon as a direct representative of oil. It is understood he will do nothing to hurt the oil interests. But he will try not to be especially aggressive in the narrow interests of oil alone.

Whitney has been an investment banker" on his own for the past eleven years. But he has **interested himself in "smaller" capital ventures. He has established broader business ties, among others, with the liberal Lehmans. While the bulk of his income is probably still from Standard Oil, his activities and interests have been such as to get him labeled as a "New-Guard Republican."**

While it is significant that every one of the 16 ambassadors to England since 1900 have had very close ties to the banking fraternity, it was only beginning with 1929 that the bankers themselves began to consistently take the post. Seven out of the nine ambassadors since then, have been either bank presidents, bank directors, or investment bankers — like Mr. Whitney.

APPEAR IN PERSON

All the ambassadors to the banking center at London since the time of Whitney's maternal grandfather, John Hay, have been closely connected with Morgan, Rockefeller or Mellon. (Mellon himsef took a crack at it once). But the old custom of giving the post to the mere representatives of the big bankers has now worn out. With the decline of British banking power, there has been a rise in the power and influence of the ambassadors who are sent there. This is because the British decline must be steered very carefully into the channels of Wall Street's rise. And the bankers themselves must be at the wheel.

John Hay Whitney in his formal character as "investment banker" seemes to be one of the above group. But he cannot be compared with his two predecessors, Aldrich and Walter S. Gifford — one, the grasping tenacious agent of the Rockefellers, the other a hard-boiled 100% Morgan man. Gifford was President of the Morgan influenced American Telephone and Telegraph for 23 years, a director of the Morgan-influenced United States Steel and director of the Morgan-dominated First National City Bank. The British capitalists are more or less resigned to the Morgans and the Rockefellers telling them what to do. But they see a ray of hope that they are not going to be told so bluntly or so finally by the new Rockefeller man, whom they hopefuly regard as a light-weight and a liberal.

There is some foundation for the British hopes. The intense Anglo-American rivalry in the Middle East has put a real strain on the Anglo-American alliance in Europe. U.S. capital has now pushed England as far as it can from the Middle East, and is keeping its fingers crossed hoping the Arab revolution will not break out against Wall Street as well as against Britain and France. Several sections of U.S. capital now desire a "thaw" in U.S.-British relations. It is an eloquent commentary on the majestic preponderance of the big banks and oil companies however, that their opponents have to be satisfied with an actual member of the Rockefeller clan as the "compromise" choice.

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Unrest in the NAACP

One of the indirect effects of the inspiring struggles of Southern Negroes in the past several years is a new note of unrest in Northern branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dissatisfaction is not new. For years the rank-and-file members of many NAACP branches have "voted with their feet." That is, they simply have not attended meetings unless someone connected with a celebrated discrimination case has been the speaker.

Branch leadership, in most cases, has been monopolized by the so-called "talented tenth" — the ministers, lawyers, morticians and machine politicians of the Negro community. Meetings have been held almost universally in churches, where a certain amount of "captive audience" could be expected.

The result has been, in too many branches, the development of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy which adapts itself to the patterns of discrimination in the North, fears change, discourages mass participation and looks with suspicion on any constructive criticism or proposals for militant action.

In large industrial centers like Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland, a certain amount of token representation is given to workers in the community by inclusion of labor officials on the branch board of directors. But even then rank-and-file participation is not improved since such union representatives are generally figureheads who adapt themselves to the policies of the dominant bureaucracy in the labor movement instead of concern for the problems of the workers.

From time to time we see a ruckus in NAACP branches, but it usually turns out to be a "palace revolution" between different cliques within the more privileged segment of the community. Some lawyer or minister thinks a change in the composition of the board would improve his ability to make commitments to the Democrats or the Republicans.

But a new note is entering the differences in the NAACP branches. The ranks are getting restless. They are beginning to wonder why Negro communities in the South hold meetings that hear reports, discuss policies, undertake mass actions, elect new, young leaders — and do not hide under the bed when they are accused of being "radical" or even "subversive."

NAACP members in the North are beginning to ask what is the difference between factions competing for posts in branch elections. Petty personal rivalry looks very small when measured against the conference of Southern leaders demanding that Eisenhower take a stand on the anti-Negro violence in the South or see a March on Washington by colored masses and supporters of their demands.

The time has come for a new kind of leadership with a program for action in the Northern branches of the NAACP. That is the meaning of the new note in the unrest in the NAACP.

Eyewitness Report

By John Thayer

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY. By Peter Fryer. London: Dennis Dobson, 1956. 96 pp., $1.00. Order through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Everyone seriously interested in what actually took place in Hungary during the recent revolution and its suppression by the Russian army will have to read this book. Similarly all those who belong to or are sympathetic to the Communist Party are morally obligated to read it. For this account of the Hungarian events comes from an unimpeachable source. It is the eyewitness report of the London Daily Worker correspondent on the scene. A member of the British Communist Party and for eight years the Daily Worker's foreign correspondent covering Hungary, Fryer cannot be accused of anti-Soviet or anti-Communist Party prejudice.

This book on Hungary is at the same time the story of the disillusionment of a devoted Communist Party member with the perversion of socialism and socialist policy practised by Stalin and Stalin's successors. It is to the author's credit that this disillusionment with Stalinism, including its latter-day "reformed" guise, did not lose him to the workers' movement. On the contrary the heroic militancy of the Hungarian workers has inspired him with greater confidence than ever in the triumph of socialism.

In the introduction to **Hungarian Tragedy**, Fryer writes: "The Daily Worker sent me to Hungary, then suppressed what I wrote. Much of what I wrote was concealed even from my colleagues. Both as a Communist and as a human being I believe it my duty to tell the truth about the Hungarian revolution. I believe it will help bring about the urgently needed redemption and rebirth of the British Communist Party, which for too long has betrayed Socialist principles and driven away some of its finest members by defending the indefensible. That is why I have written this book."

Fryer arrived in Hungary three days after the initial revolutionary outbreak. He remained until Nov. 11. Thus his account encompasses the height of the revolutionary days, the re-entry of the Russian army and the military over-powering of the Hungarian people. He reports not only from Budapest but from cities and towns in the provinces.

Fryer's familiarity with Hungary's post-war history (for eight years he was an East European correspondent for the London Daily Worker, reported the Rajk trial in 1949, etc.) enables him to sketch in the developments which culminated in the revolutionary outburst last October — a merit which so many accounts by American journalists have lacked.

Hungarian Tragedy was written almost immediately after his return to England in the latter part of November. It came off the presses there just before the new year. It is the first full-length eyewitness account of the Hungarian Revolution to appear.

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Banks Campaigns for Labor Administration in L. A. Race

Happy Birthday for First Negro Skipper

Captain Hugh Mulzac (center) and part of the crew of the S.S. Booker T. Washington in 1947. He recently got his papers back after being "screened" in 1950 because organizations that helped him fight Jim Crow in shipping had been decreed "subversive." A birthday celebration for the skipper will be held Saturday, March 23 at 8 P.M. at Esthonia Hall, 2051 Lexington Ave., Manhattan.

LOS ANGELES, March 8 — In a stirring declaration, "Where I Stand," Erroll Banks, socialist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles said to the voters of this city, "I believe that the future lies with the working class. The capitalist system is no longer progressive. It can only give an unstable prosperity, economic depressions, thought-control measures, segregation and discrimination, increasingly destructive wars, and fascist barbarism. I believe that the working people can build a better economic system."

With this declaration of principle, Erroll Banks sharply counterposed his socialist campaign to that of his capitalist opponents in a printed platform which is being distributed to thousands of workers in the final weeks of the election race.

ELECTION RALLY

Banks, a 39-year-old packinghouse worker whose candidacy for mayor is supported by the Socialist Workers Party, spoke before an election rally last night after appearing earlier before two union meetings. The rally also heard Joseph Hansen, Editor of the International Socialist Review, discuss the oil scandals of California.

At the meeting Banks hailed the formation of the new state on the African Gold Coast, Ghana, as another step towards freedom for the people of Africa. "The Negroes of Ghana and the Negroes of the United States have a common struggle," he said, "not only because of their ancestry but because the people of Ghana after 113 years of domination by British imperialism and the American Negro after 300 years of slavery and 85 years of second-class citizenship are both fighting a common enemy, world imperialism."

The Los Angeles election campaign draws to a close on April 2 when the voters will go to the polls. Candidate Banks' primary concern in his vigorous campaign has been to acquaint the workers and minority groups in Los Angeles with the liberating ideas of Socialism. In addition in his election platform Erroll Banks calls for struggle on the following immediate problems:

PEACE AND FREEDOM

"Oppose the war plans of Big Business. No More Koreas! End race discrimination! Defend democratic rights and civil liberties! For unrestricted freedom of thought and discussion in the schools of Los Angeles! For the defense of all victims of the witch hunt no matter what their political views!

"Down with the open shop! Make Los Angeles a 100% union town! Clear the slum areas! Los Angeles needs a socialist mayor to fight the real-estate interests who profit from the slums and who are opposed to low-rent city housing. Lift the tax burden from the poor. Abolish the city sales tax."

To maintain living standards and ward off the threat of mass unemployment, the following measures are called for: "A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. A cost of living bonus geared to the rising cost of living. Unemployment compensation equal to trade union wages. Equal pay for women workers. A minimum wage law based on union pay scales."

The election platform of Erroll Banks concludes with the need for a labor party and a workers government instead of the Big Business regimes that rule today. The program concludes, "A vote for Erroll Banks is a vote for the socialist future of mankind!"

ERROLL BANKS

Twin Cities Rally Hits At Anti-Negro Politician

By Tom Leonard

ST. PAUL, March 10 — More than 1,000 Negro residents from the Twin Cities area overflowed the Pilgrim Baptist church today in a militant demonstration of solidarity with the heroic freedom fighters in the South.

The protest meeting was organized by the NAACP with the full cooperation of local 516 of the dining Car Employes Union AFL-CIO. The meeting was called as a result of the indignation that swept through the Negro community last week following the publication of an article in the capitalist press in which City Councilman Milton Rosen expressed open sympathy for the "plight" of the Southern white supremacists.

Rosen, who has run for office over the past years on a so-called independent ticket, recently returned from a business trip to Birmingham, Ala. In an interview with the mayor of that city Rosen is reported to have said, "Rabble-rousers have told us that Negroes are 'terribly mistreated.' It's a whole lot of misinformation."

Rosen was immediately barraged by demands from the Negro people that he retract this and similar statements. It is reported that one group of Negro leaders visited his office, heard his feeble attempts to apologize, then left his office in silence.

Despite his efforts to apologize and publicly water down his pro-segregationist remarks, it is doubtful whether Rosen will ever be able to remove the stigma of having openly fraternized with white supremacists. In any case his efforts to do so in no way affected the determination of the Negro people to go through with their protest meeting.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister from Birmingham, Ala., and President of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights was invited to be the main speaker. The organization he leads was formed after the Alabama courts declared the NAACP illegal in that state.

There was no question that Rev. Shuttlesworth was well equipped to present a real picture of the South. When he took the platform to speak at today's meeting he was greeted by a standing ovation.

The Birmingham leader discussed some of the economic reasons that caused segregation and observed that Northern Big Business had done nothing to disturb the segregation pattern in the South, despite the fact that they were expanding rapidly in that area of the country. He then called upon all minority and labor organizations to join actively in the fight against segregation.

Referring to Eisenhower's refusal to comply with the demand of the Negro people that he intervene in the South, Shuttlesworth stated, "It does make a difference for the Chief Executive to speak out." This statement met with the spontaneous response of the audience who interrupted with, "That's right! That's right!"

The meeting did not propose any action such as a March on Washington which is being widely raised in the Negro press in the absence of any action on the part of the federal government. However today's mass meeting, one of the few held in Twin Cities in recent times demonstrated that the Negroes of St. Paul are a force to be reckoned with in the struggle against segregation.

. . . Defies Racist Mob

(Continued from page 1)

one incident when she saw a person throw a rock from an alley across the street. A policeman standing outside witnessed this too, but made no move. On one occasion, when she heard what sounded like a gunshot in the back yard, she again summoned the police only to be told that it all probably was just her imagination.

On Monday night, Feb. 11, her home was besieged by a mob estimated at 250-300 people who threateningly gathered outside, hurling filthy epithets and rocks. Throughout the night, the mob grew more and more belligerant. Two squad cars of police were there but no attempt was made to disperse the mob. Gradually, through the evening, the situation grew more tense. Mrs. Watkins phoned the NAACP, the Urban League and anyone else who could come to her aid. The police were reluctant to break up what was characterized as "a peaceful picket line" but finally at about 1:30 Tuesday morning, the riot squad arrived and the mob was dispersed with individuals yelling, "We'll be back tomorrow night at 7:30."

Finally, as a result of great pressure, the police placed a 24-hour watch on the house. Each night the mob returned — in diminishing numbers. Today, the police patrol is still there. Little knots of whites still gather on the corner in the Cherrylawn area and mutter, "Just wait until the police stop protecting that home."

SILENCE BROKEN

Mrs. Watkins' case has been given considerable publicity in the local Negro press and the downtown boss press has finally lifted its self-imposed iron curtain on the case, printing a few articles mainly slanted towards the statements of Father John E. Coogan, Chairman of the Commission on Community Relations.

One local Negro paper reports that the major Detroit dailies **were goaded into dropping their** wall of silence on the Watkins issue by stories that appeared in the Montgomery Advertiser (Ala.) and the Jackson News (Miss.). As is commonly known, the Montgomery Advertiser, in order to take the spotlight off racial discrimination in the South has been attempting to expose cases of discrimination in the North in order to lay bare the hypocrisy of their Northern counterparts on this question and lend to the theory that discrimination is a "normal" problem throughout the entire country. This line was further developed by the appearance of the recent issue of "Life" magazine wherein "Life" gave more coverage to the Watkins case and its particulars than appeared in the local boss press.

All parties concerned sense the development of a change on this issue. Coming forth now, in a period highlighted by the Montgomery and Tallahassee boycotts and the enormous mass meetings that occurred in Detroit around those issues, the Watkins case has been placed in the forefront. Drawing greater strength and encouragement from Montgomery the Negro community here has a newly developed militancy. Mrs. Watkins has become a noted public figure, a role she eminently fits into. She is referred to as "the Rosa Parks of Detroit," and she has become a symbol of the fight for good homes and decent living conditions.

In the meantime, the police still guard Mrs. Watkins' home; but the question is, how long will they remain there. Mrs. Watkins reports that as she walks down her street, little groups of hoodlums hurl remarks at her, warning her that the mob will return as soon as the police leave.

Responding to the question of what her plans are, Mrs. Watkins states, "After all that's happened up to now, they'll have to carry me away from this house in a pine box. I'm going to stay!"

Review of Important New British Marxist Journal

The second issue of Labour Review, the lively and vigorous British Marxist publication has arrived in this country. The March-April issue (Vol. 2, No. 2) of this bi-monthly magazine fulfills the promise of the first issue and will assure the popularity of the publications. Reports from Britain and America indicate that it has already made a place for itself among Socialist workers.

Labour Review sets its own objectives in a lead editorial entitled "Towards a Discussion on Principles" in which it answers criticisms levelled by some readers. Its aim, the magazine explains, is not to be "a sectional, Trotskyist journal," as some characterized it, or one directed solely at the Communist Party as others claimed. **"We wish to make it the main journal for conducting the principled discussion of every aspect of revolutionary theory. . . Trotsky's are some of the more important works to study."**

ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The editors explain their concentration on Stalinism by pointing to the fact that at this stage it is the focus of discussion among all left wing circles, and especially of the ranks of the Communist Parties. John Daniels, one of the editors, shows one aspect of this crisis in his article "The Communist Party and Democratic Centralism." He compares Lenin's concept with that of the Stalinist bureaucrats as it is posed within the British Communist Party where a majority and minority of "A Commission on Inner Party Democracy" have issued conflicting reports.

A profound and important article by Michael Banda exposes the Chinese C.P. in its attempt to gloss over the meaning of Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress and to rehabilitate Stalin's role. This article is a "must" for every student of international socialism. A well-timed book review of the Russian novel "Not By Bread Alone," which has caused a furor in the Soviet Union for its attack on the bureaucracy, is contrasted with excerpts from a Stalinist writer's criticism of the book.

The magazine also contains an article on the role of the liberal Manchester Guardian in its treatment of the Suez Crisis. A second installment of William F. Warde's brilliant exposition of the Law of Uneven and Combined Development, plus four book reviews fill out this jam-packed issue. A copy sells for 50 cents and can be ordered through the Business Office of The Militant.

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY by Peter Fryer

Peter Fryer was special correspondent of the London Daily Worker in Budapest. His dispatches telling the truth about the workers' uprising were suppressed by the editor. This book is his eyewitness account.

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